1:Williams E,G-5 (1923-1925) 1930
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An Orokaiva Youth wearing
Head-dress and *Hose*

[Frontispiece]

1:Williams E,G-5 (1923-1925) 1930
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(*a*) An Aiga Native

(*b*) A Wasida Native

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(*c*) An Aiga Native

PLATE I [facing p. 6]

1:Williams E,G-5 (1923-1925) 1930
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(*a*) A Woman of Wasida

(*b*) An Orokaiva Profile

(*c*, *d*) Two Orokaiva Profiles

PLATE II [facing p. 10]

1:Williams E,G-5 (1923-1925) 1930
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512 eat, made ready by some woman who has been at home during the forenoon, but, whether or no, the toilers will probably retire into their houses for the siesta.

512 513 If the day be warm there will be drowsiness in the village atmosphere and almost universal somnolence among its inhabitants for an hour or two after midday.

The Evening's Recreation

512 252 The real activity of the village commences at about three o'clock. The women will soon begin peeling the taro, each seated on the ground before her own house. The diurnal grand repast is in preparation, and what with the peeling of vegetables and the cooking of them a housewife has perhaps an hour and a half of final work to do. Not that this is hard or unpleasant, but rather of a sociable nature, for little groups gather round the pot in which the taro is slowly seething under a covering of leaves. The men have risen from their rest and may foregather to chew betel or will sit before their respective houses renewing some sedentary task of yesterday—for such tasks may drag on unconscionably. [854] Often a man is content with the society of his immediate family, playing fondly with his younger children and carrying an infant in his arms.

512 301 ● 302 883 Women and girls will go for water, and youths perhaps for firewood. Young bloods may appear, with a dash of paint on their cheeks and an ornament of boar's tusk or shell on their breasts. Their hair is glossy and greasy and their fine young figures set off with a sheen of coco-nut oil. In the most indirect manner and with a somewhat studied nonchalance they are, if the truth be known, bent on courtship, desiring principally to show off their masculine charms in those quarters where it suits them.

512 526 As the cool of the evening approaches the village grows more animated. If one game or another happens to be in vogue, youths of all ages will be boisterously engaged in it. The favourite games of the Orokaiva have something of war or chase about them. A number of players, with darts poised for throwing, stand in a kind of extended order while one boy bowls a disk-shaped section of banana stem along

1:Williams E,G-5 (1923-1925) 1930
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292 589 [531] covers the curious shame which she feels on this occasion. It is made of bark-cloth or of string netting, and is embroidered, sometimes completely covered, with the seeds known as Job's Tears. Being made and decorated with great care, however, it is later worn rather as an ornament under which the widow's charms suffer no concealment.

292 589 531 *The Widow's Vest, Baja.* This is usually a straight sleeveless shirt of knitted string completely covered with Job's Tears (*Coix lachrimae*). It reaches usually to the waist but sometimes as low as to the knees. *Coix lachrimae* seeds are of two kinds, the one a delicate grey, the other fawn, and with the introduction of black and sometimes red seeds the garment may be very effectively decorated.

291 [535] [531] *The Bark-cloth Mantle.* This is merely a broad sheet, three feet square or more, which is wrapped round the shoulders in cold weather. It is also used very prettily by girls in the dance. Holding it by two corners, the dancer swings it to and fro as she moves or allows it to float out behind her head. The bark-cloth is gaily painted and the girl's movements are light and graceful, so that in this guise she is not ineptly called *boriri*, 'the butterfly'.

292 [177] [531] *Bi-kaio, the Apron.* This is a small square of knitted string which hangs from the belt in front of the body. It is worn only by old men of distinction, and is seldom seen even on them. It may be only a partly assimilated introduction from the hill neighbours (Biagi, &c.), among whom it is certainly found more commonly. In the only example which I saw the string was knitted in patterns of red, brown, black, and white, and the fabric was decorated with black seeds and tufts of cuscus fur. W. N. Beaver mentions the *bi-kaio* in his list of *otobu*.[1]

Hair-dressing

302 The Orokaiva commonly allows his hair to grow long, and with the frequent application of coco-nut oil the close ringlets become clogged in a series of tags. The typical *coiffure* is therefore a mass of tails about the thickness of a

[1] 'Notes on Homicidal Emblems among the Orokaiva', &c., *Annual Report*, 1918–19, p. 97; under *Ve Hajo*.

1:Williams E,G-5 (1923-1925) 1930
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lead pencil which fall about his shoulders something in the manner of the Chief Justice's wig. Notwithstanding grease and dirt, it is a distinctly becoming mode, particularly when to the profusion of his locks he adds the tassels of red-dyed *kapiya*, the transparent skin that lines the inner side of the areca spathe. To an Orokaiva his hair is assuredly felt to be a crowning glory, though it is often far from being the well-trimmed and flowing mass that I have pictured. His head is sometimes scraggy and sometimes even bald—a state which is regarded with curious aversion and attributed to some early indiscretion or ceremonial neglect.

The hair is cut short in mourning, and sometimes as a last desperate measure to free it from lice. In the former case it is an example of the self-sacrifice or self-castigation which is so common in sorrow, though a man may allow himself a little decorative effect as compensation for the loss (*vide* concentric circles on Plate XXVII). Nowadays many wear their hair short for mere convenience.

A woman's hair is dressed in the same way as a man's while she is young, i.e. with tags and red streamers. At marriage she is likely, though not bound, to cut it short; and when she has borne a child or two she will certainly do so. This I am assured is a case of modesty: a matron does not care to masquerade as a 'flapper' (and the same reason is given for the fact that married women wear comparatively few ornaments). Some informants have also suggested that a husband does not care to see his wife make herself too attractive to other men, and others that a mass of long hair interferes with the carrying of the *eti*, or string bag for taro.

Natives are clean-shaven except for some old men and some who have allowed their beards to grow in mourning. The beard is never of very strong growth. Nowadays moustaches are commonly copied from the white man and especially affected by those who have served in the Armed Constabulary. Shaving is done with a glass fragment (formerly one of quartz); with twisted fibres; and by plucking out the hairs with a bivalve for tweezers.

1:Williams E,G-5 (1923-1925) 1930
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304 and has no ceremonial significance. It is made by inflicting innumerable punctures with a thorn over a pattern made on the skin with charcoal.

Personal Hygiene

515 The Orokaiva is as dirty as and no dirtier than the next native. He hates the feel of cold water unless he is already hot and perspiring, and he would rather take a bath to get cool than to get clean. After his bathe he anoints his body
● 302 and hair with the oily milk of the coco-nut, which he uses at all times with freedom. The somewhat rancid smell which one notices at times may be rather the effect of this oil than a genuine body odour.

The native uses a variety of perfumes which are not always alluring, and are sometimes even repulsive to the senses of a European. He wears sprigs of scented leaf in
[832] his armlet which he thinks will increase his sexual attraction. It is interesting to note that the delightful aroma of the lime
151 tree (an introduction found in every village) has actually been declared unpleasant by some informants.

Face Painting

302 Faces are painted as a rule on gala occasions alone, but
832 a young man who is intent on the self-display which constitutes the earlier stage of native love-making may on his own initiative wear a forehead ornament and decorate his cheeks. Nowadays he uses a trade mirror; formerly he
[412] poured water into a wooden bowl (*teva*) or one of those stone mortars which are still to be found in the Northern Division, and for which this use, viz. that of a mirror, is the only explanation a native can offer.

302 The paints used are a red seed (*obonda sari*), red ochre (*ob-*
386 *onda opasi*), red clay (*niani*), grey or whitish clay (*onu*), charcoal (*oku*), and a leaf called *sopapa*. The last is crushed and mixed with lime and spittle, and forms a bright greenish yellow. I have discovered no trace of clan or tribal markings, the only approach toward distinctive patterns being found in the one or two devices employed by sects of the Taro cult.[1]

[1] 'The Taro Cult', in *Orokaiva Magic*, p. 67.

1:Williams E,G-5 (1923-1925) 1930
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881 The initiates must avoid being seen by people of the
784 village—in particular, it would seem, by their own fathers and mothers. Sexual intercourse is prohibited. Chinnery and Beaver speak of other tabus: 'Should a boy happen to talk over loudly, one of the guardians would say, "Be silent, I will thrust a spear through the floor". Should a boy happen to drop taro through the floor, he would be killed.' This latter penalty is, of course, no longer inflicted in these slip-shod days, and personally I am very doubtful whether such severity could ever have amounted to a rule.

Début and Decoration

881 The initiate is not called an *ehamei* (or *meiba*), i.e. a 'new child', until he or she has terminated the seclusion and made a formal début. This is a spectacular occasion, the main purpose of which is perhaps to do honour to the initiate. It is signalized by the youth's first appearance in the feather head-dress, which thenceforward he is entitled to wear. Hitherto it has been strictly forbidden him, so much so that I have known a serious quarrel between two men resulting from the fact that one of them had given feathers to the other's younger brother before the right to wear them had been formally granted. The following description is drawn mainly from a ceremony which I witnessed near Divina Kovari in the Hunjovarehu country.

On the day of their formal reappearance the initiates, who have remained unwashed during their long internment, are taken down to bathe at early morning. They then gather
881 in the bush beyond sight and earshot of the village, and in
● 302 this sylvan tiring-room undergo the lengthy and laborious
361 process of being decorated. Each sits on a mat and places himself entirely in the hands of the man who is dressing him. There are many others watching or helping: with a party of twelve youths and four girls at Divina Kovari, there must have been seventy or eighty onlookers. The tails of hair which have grown long during seclusion have red streamers tied to their extremities. In the middle they are gathered tightly together and bound with bark-cloth, so as to form a base for the mass of feathers which is to be tied on to the

1:Williams E,G-5 (1923-1925) 1930
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initiate's head. This decoration consists not only of feather-sets but of shell and ivory ornaments, particularly strings of dogs' teeth wound round and round the bunch of hair. One boy, when I saw him submitting patiently to the ministrations of his attendant, already had nine strings of dogs' teeth round his hair at the back, each consisting of perhaps 150 teeth, and he was then waiting for more. It will be easily imagined that the weight of this portentous mass of feathers and ornaments is very considerable, and as the process of decorating lasted some hours the eyes of their wearers were already blinking with fatigue at this early stage of the day. Oppressed either with the weight or the magnificence of their headdresses, they held their heads as still as possible or moved them stiffly, like a man unaccustomed to an evening shirt.

I have been assured that it is the function of the *nobo*, or maternal uncle, to present the *kokumbari*, for which he receives payment from the initiate's father in the form of a pig, and from his mother in the form of a pot (*obu*), a wooden bowl (*teva*), a water calabash, a *bo*, a netted bag (*eti*), a fish-net (*eutu*), and a spear. But, as so often in the case of such rules, we find on looking into the matter that other relatives may equally well perform the function. Thus in the present instance I recorded more cases where the *kokumbari* was given by the paternal uncle than where it was given by the maternal uncle. In other cases, again, it was given by the elder brother. On the whole, however, it may be regarded as proper for the *nobo* to give the *kokumbari*, as I have also heard that it is proper for him to attend to the initiate during his seclusion. But neither of these rules is observed with strictness.

While the decoration of the initiates is going forward, guests are arriving in the village. On such occasions it is the custom, not for the hosts, but for the guests, to perform a dance. (On a future occasion the invitation will be returned, and the hosts in the present instance will then be the performers.) In the ceremony at Divina Kovari two such parties of dancers arrived, one before and one after the formal entry of the decorated initiates. It is not necessary

1:Williams E,G-5 (1923-1925) 1930
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The seclusion will probably last several months; but in this, as in most other cases of seclusion, the time is not fixed, but depends upon the pig[1] and the garden produce. When these are ready the seclusion may be brought to an end.

The girl's confinement is not always of the strictest. She may retire to the bush either by means of a passage between palm-leaf walls at the rear of the house, or else she may walk out wrapped in an *obi* mat. These precautions are meant, of course, to screen her from the view of the village. The compartment in which she lives is small and dark, perhaps a walled-off corner, though she is not confined there perpetually. In some cases I noted that she was allowed the freedom of the whole house. She is well fed, and lives in complete and probably contented idleness; nor can I hear of any special instructions which her elders may impart to her during this period. Her body is covered with a mess of coco-nut oil and charcoal, the effect of which is supposedly to make her complexion fairer (*panjari* or *boboma*). In the broad daylight the skin of a secluded girl wears a somewhat yellow or sallow tint which is deemed attractive. She must avoid being seen by men, though this rule evidently does not apply to her father and immediate male relatives.

When preparations for the girl's début are complete she is carried down to the river at earliest dawn on the shoulders of a woman, and there the oil and charcoal are washed off. This operation should be over in time for the girl to be back in her house before full daylight, but one may be up in time to witness the curious spectacle of a woman staggering through the village with a full-grown girl, completely naked, sitting astride her shoulders. In the very touchy or susceptible condition in which a girl finds herself at the end of seclusion, it appears that there is a source of danger in contact with the ground. But this risk, if it is always felt, is sometimes ignored, for on one occasion I saw several

[1] One pig, indeed, may serve for several quite independent ceremonies. A man Tembari, for example, has his pubescent daughter and his widowed sister both interned in his house. He has a pig fattening, and when it has reached a satisfactory size it will serve for a feast at which his daughter and sister will terminate their seclusion and his son receive a perineal band.

1:Williams E,G-5 (1923-1925) 1930
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(*a*) Hair shaved in Mourning.
Not an usual mode

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(*b*) The *Babari* or Exposure Platform for the Corpse

PLATE XXVII [Facing p. 212]

1:Williams E,G-5 (1923-1925) 1930
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

him, the dance swept into the village, while the solemn *gorukari* procession went steadily on. In this case the *doru* were helped on to a house verandah, and the younger girls in the procession turned hastily to join in the more animated and attractive entertainment of the dance. Throughout the rest of the day, which witnessed a dance, a dramatic performance, and a feast, the *doru* (of whom there were three) sat on the house verandah without as much as raising their heads to see what was going on.

After this ceremonial emergence the seclusion of the *doru* is over. She continues to wear the *baja*, but may come and go at her ordinary work. She is free to marry again, and marriage may take place before the later ceremony in which the *baja* is discarded. It is said that the halting gait of the widow and her clinging for support upon her neighbour are due to the weakness of her legs after long seclusion; though if we feel inclined to accept such an explanation it must be merely symbolic. The gradual assumption of an upright gait, however, marks in some manner the caution which the native regards as essential in all transition stages. The hiding of the *doru's* face is again attributed to the *meb*, or shame, which was said to be the reason of seclusion in general.

I was assured that among the southern tribes, who practise seclusion of the widower, there was no ceremonial emergence: the widower's legs were supposed to stand the strain of inactivity and he walked out of his seclusion unassisted. But this cannot be altogether correct, for Mr. Wurth has described, in reference to the Eroro district, a solemn procession in single file, each individual resting his hands on the shoulders of the person in front of him, and the widower wearing the mourning jacket of Job's Tears—in fact a ceremonial that corresponds in all essentials to the emergence of the widow.

Signs and Observances of Mourning

The widow continues to wear her jacket of *baja* (*vide* p. 217), and among the coastal people she smears her face and limbs with mud, which dries white and gives her a sufficiently ghastly appearance. (I have not noted in detail

1:Williams E,G-5 (1923-1925) 1930
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765 292 [302] the distribution of this latter custom, but it is not practised among the Aiga or the Binandele.)) The *baja* jacket is worn also by the widower, and various relatives of the deceased bear Job's Tears about their persons as a sign of mourning, sometimes in the form of jackets, sometimes merely as [301] armlets or neck ornaments. The seeds appear to be of two varieties, pale grey or fawn, and with the addition of red and black seeds the *baja* jacket may be very effectively decorated. Except in the case of the widow, it appears that the *baja* may be put off at will: a man will wear it when he 'walks about', and doff it when he works. It is, in fact, rather in the nature of an ornament than of sack-cloth and ashes. However, I have been informed—quite gratuitously—that the *asisi* of the dead is in some manner immanent in the *baja*.

The hood (*pohu*) is either of bark-cloth or of netted string, in either case thickly embroidered with the seeds. A fish-net may be used for the purpose, or the *betava*, i.e. string bag, which belonged to the dead man, and which now figures as a memento.[1]

765 301 There are many minor indications of mourning. A woman will wear mementoes of her husband such as a thick necklet made from his *bo* rolled as if into a rope and covered with *baja*, or a series of pendants—a fragment of the pot in which his food was cooked, a chip of the tree he chopped, his coco-nut spoon, his leglet, a tuft of his hair; and a widower may wear his late wife's taro peeler or her bodkin of flying-fox bone. A recognized symbol of mourning is a necklet of large white beads formed of cooked taro which has hardened. A man will wear a beard and cut his hair 765 short in mourning. Both these practices are in the nature of 302 self-castigation, for the Orokaiva fancy a glabrous beauty, and if a man have long head-hair it is felt to be a glory. In one case (to which I have previously drawn attention)

[1] An interesting mark of mourning is the *rumi* or skirt of palm leaf. This is by no means universal, but is found in the Dirou tribe (where it is of coco-nut), and among the people of the lower Opi (where it is of pandanus). In regard to the latter people, it is said that the women of an earlier population, associated with a semi-mythical character, Bubugarere, all wore palm-leaf skirts; but that they dispersed, some to the north and some to the south, so that nowadays these skirts are to be seen on the one hand on the river Waria and on the other about Cape Nelson.

1:Williams E,G-5 (1923-1925) 1930
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a man had shaved his hair in mourning for his brother, but left a series of concentric rings; but this, which had a distinctly decorative, and, as the circles were slightly askew, an almost jaunty effect, was, I imagine, quite unusual. Women, who in the excess of their grief hack at themselves with jagged quartz, often bear permanent raised scars on their breasts or shoulders.

Formerly it was the custom to cut down one or more of the coco-nut palms belonging to the deceased. This is now prohibited by the Government, but it appears that the rule was always adjustable to circumstances: if a man had many dependents and few coco-nuts it was not carried out. The felling of palms is only an example of the destruction of some part of the property of the deceased, which is attributed to the *jo*, or sorrow, of his survivors. Pots, for instance, or wooden dishes are dashed to the ground and broken. 'He ate from this dish,' they say, 'therefore we break it'; or 'he ate the fruit of this palm, therefore we cut it down'. I have never heard it suggested that the utensils or the palms were in any way unclean or dangerous. The reason for the destruction is always said to be *jo*. It may be another instance of the native's habit of punishing himself in sorrow, or simply a method of letting off steam: the pots may be smashed in a fury of grief, just as wine-glasses are sometimes smashed in ebullitions of a more joyous emotion.

However that may be, I think there is enough in the severity of the native's mourning observances—so much severer than our own—to argue the sincerity of his grief. I may refer lastly to the self-denying tabu of mourning. Such a self-inflicted abstinence is called *bajai*. The mourner may abstain from pig-flesh, taro, tobacco, or betel, &c., or dispense with such articles as a painted *bo* or a string bag. These are very serious deprivations to an Orokaiva. Once more the native is punishing himself in his sorrow. One finds a man, for instance, who voluntarily does without his *betava*, or string bag, that veritable *vade mecum* which is the receptacle for the lime gourd and many other indispensables. His *nabori*, he may tell you, used to help himself in a friendly way to the betel-nuts and lime pot in the *betava*;

2: Williams E, G-5 (1923-1925) 1928
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X 794 787 158 remote associations may seem causally effective to a native. Taimi happened to leave his lime-stick in his house; his mother, or his mother's spirit, spat on it; subsequently Taimi prodded his friend in the stomach with the stick, by now in some manner galvanized, and his friend was seized with a paroxysm.

X 794 792 I have already referred to certain individual Taro men of distinction. The number of those who follow the cult in the Northern Division is not to be computed, but there are among them men of distinction and reputation who may be called leaders and who might be if necessary catalogued. Their pre-eminence is due partly to their own personality (for it is not every native who has the makings of a magician), and partly to mere priority. Thus, if one man communicates the Taro to another, the latter will probably recognize the former as his superior. This respect for superiors may sometimes take a comical turn. To see a Taro man, his face covered with paint and his limbs with streaks of clay, his body stuck about with sprigs of coloured leaves, and his wits bemused by betel-nut—to see such a man offer a grave salute, in the exaggerated style of the Native Constabulary, to his superior, whose attire and demeanour even outdo his own, is almost as diverting to the European as it is impressive to the native. This habit of deference to the initiator results in a sort of hierarchy, very ill-defined, as might be expected, because the cult shows such a tendency to split up into minor sects, but nevertheless containing the seeds of an interesting development.

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X 794 784 515 The disciple sometimes has to undergo a kind of probation. Having once acquired the Taro he must, for a considerable period (until, indeed, it is thoroughly established or ingrained into him), observe certain taboos. The chief of these is the taboo against washing. There are instances in which the enthusiastic acolyte forgoes the pleasures of a midday bathe for as long as eight months. When the Taro cult had crept insidiously into one of the mission schools, its presence was first

2: Williams E, G-5 (1923-1925) 1928
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because the initiated is commonly of the same sect as the initiator. Although, as we have seen, the former usually claims direct inspiration for himself, he is still in a great degree indebted to the latter, and acquires from him the ritual of his sect. Differences between sects are indeed not very striking: the actual ritual of the Taro men is throughout almost as uniform as it is simple. It is in the various forms of *jipari* that the differences are most obvious. In the scene at Korisata (pp. 20, 21) we have already noticed the contrasted behaviour of several sects. Other sects developed mannerisms, sometimes indeed going to awkward extremes. The *Papara* men made a practice of rushing aimlessly through the bush, careless of roots and trailers. Frequent abrasions and injuries are said to have cut short the popularity of this sect. The *Mereni* men and the *Togoro* men would crawl on all fours, the former wriggling their bodies violently, the latter beating their foreheads on the ground. The *Pijama* men affected a peculiar hopping movement, quite *sui generis*, but too tiring to remain long in favour.

In some instances the sects adopted a distinctive mark. For instance, the *Togoro* men in some villages smeared their cheeks with white ochre in two streaks, following the line of the mouth. But such marks soon lost their distinctiveness. Being so easily copied they became a rage. One might see everywhere blackened foreheads, shining as if with stove-polish; or limbs and bodies smeared with clay, through which parallel wavy lines were made with the finger-tips. But these had become simply marks of the Taro men, without any distinctive appropriateness to one sect or another. Sometimes, but very rarely, it appears that the particular sect concentrates its attention upon the particular variety of taro after which it is named: thus the *Kaiva*, *Kivere*, *Togoro*, and *Sinogu* sects of Deunia on the river Kumusi declared that they concerned themselves respectively with the *Kaiva*, *Kivere*, *Togoro*, and *Sinogu* varieties of the taro plant. But almost invariably the Taro man, whatever his sect, pro-

2: Williams E, G-5 (1923-1925) 1928
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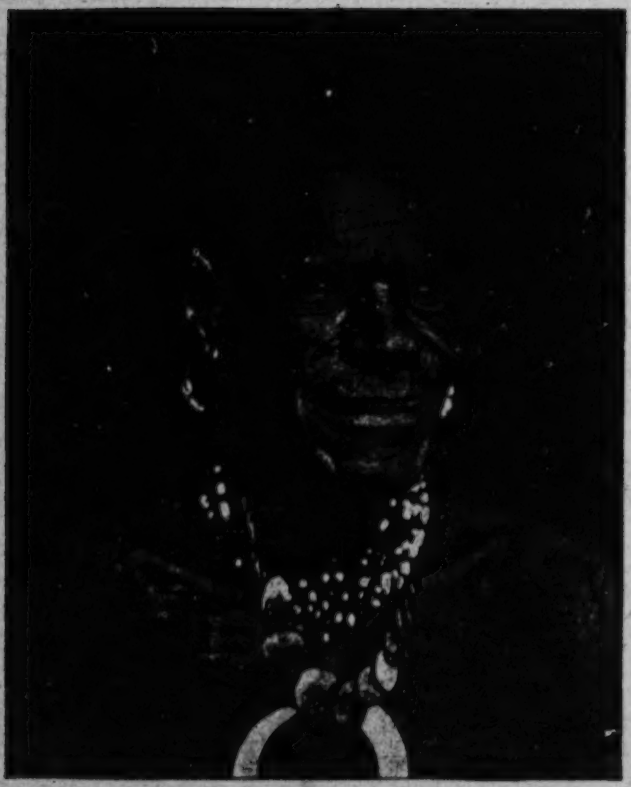

YAVIRIPA
One of the originators of the Taro Cult

[Facing p.78]

2: Williams E, G-5 (1923-1925) 1928
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DIROGA MEN DANCING

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[facing P.120]

2: Williams E, G-5 (1923-1925) 1928
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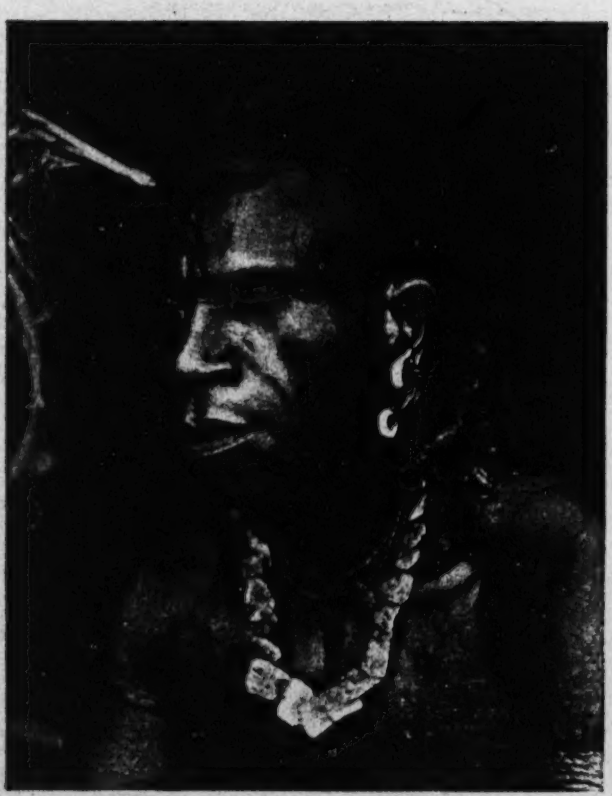

BIA OF MANAU

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[facing p. 200]

4: Chinnery & Haddon E-5 (ca. 1915)1917
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coast as far as the old Anglo-German boundary and for a long way up the rivers of the Kumusi Division. Moreover, the cult is still spreading. Needless to say, the Baigonas have to pay for their instruction. One or two men in a village go through a period of tuition, and, on their return, initiate the rest of the villagers, not into the positions which they themselves hold, but into a belief in their new powers. This is effected by a ceremony in which the people are smeared over with some stuff from the bush, and the Baigona gives each one a smack and sends him to wash in the sea. The ceremony gets its name from the "washing." Dr Copland King has seen Baigonas use massage on a patient. They massage the arms, for instance, down to the fingers, and then, as they say, pull Baigona out from the finger tips. The young men of the village, standing round the patient, sing a song, which seems to be the usual string of meaningless words. Only two recognised drugs are used, —viz. *Euphorbia pilulifera*, the "asthma herb of Queensland," which is burnt with the coral when preparing lime for chewing with betel-nut, and *E. Drummondii*, also used medicinally by Australian settlers, and eaten with paw-paw when chewing the nut. Various other plants are employed as drugs, but only such as are beneficial. All this was obviously a very subtle move on the part of Maine. How can the Government interfere in such circumstances? At the same time, the Baigona have powers of life and death, because if they do not choose to give the patient these drugs, or, in other words, if the patient does not pay enough for them, he dies; for the Papuan, like most savages, is peculiarly susceptible to impression, and can fall sick, or even die, without any corresponding physical cause. The Baigona does not work in his garden. He will not drink plain water, but only coconut milk. He pays more attention to dressing his hair and decorating his face with red paint than other people; he has not much else to occupy his time, as either from fear or in payment his village companions do his garden work for him. Very often during the evening in the village the Baigona goes into a fit, passing into a trance. It begins with violent shivering, after which the man falls to the ground and becomes insensible, uttering spasmodic bursts of rapid talk. His people cover him with a mat, and sit around listening and applauding. Dr Copland King has not been able to make sense of what he says on such occasions, and does not know whether the people understand it either. The main feature of the cult is the prohibition to kill snakes, crocodiles, monitor lizards, and